

FACT

JUNE, 1953

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CHALLENGE TO BRITAIN
LABOUR'S NEW POLICY STATEMENT

(Morgan Phillips describes the background to this policy on page 4.)

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To the Editor

Local politics

IN the discussion on "party politics in local government" in your last issue, the distinction between politics and party politics was not clearly maintained. There can be no argument about politics as such. By definition, politics is the art of government, local as well as national. The M.P. is the national politician, the Councillor the local politician. Government doesn't suddenly become political when a party candidate gets elected.

There is, however, a case for and against party politics but it is not simply a question of spotting Tories camouflaged as Independents. Party politics implies group-voting, and it is this practice which some people dislike. But it is a practice which is common to non-party Councillors, too.

In the case of party Councillors, however, there is one redeeming virtue—their groups are based on declared principles; non-party groups, on the other hand, are based on interests which are often neither declared nor principled.

Finally, objections to party politics in terms of the "whip" or the "party line" conceal the real situation. Party Councillors arrive at the same decisions (on issue of principle) on account of their commonly-held standards of judgment. These standards or principles are explicit in the Party of which they freely chose to be members in the first place.

There is nothing immoral about that; what, in fact, is immoral is the self-righteous pretence of those non-party Councillors who think they are independent of standards and profess to judge issues "on their own merits."

SILVAN JONES (Councillor).

Llanfairfechan, Caerns.

Labour's new policy

AS the Labour Party will shortly be publishing a new policy, would it not be a good idea for you to present a sort of easy-to-follow version of it in **FACT**? This would make it easier for many of us to grasp all the essentials of the policy, and perhaps you could give reasons why the policy has been so framed as well. I feel that this would be serving a very useful purpose and would be a worth-while use of your space.

FREDERICK BRAIN.

Southsea, Hants.

Unfortunately **FACT** goes to press before the new statement is published. However, in our issues from July up to the Party conference we shall endeavour to present as comprehensive a coverage of the new policy as possible, along the lines suggested by Mr. Brain.—Editor.

VOLUME 11. No. 6

FACT

JUNE, 1953

THE LABOUR PARTY MONTHLY*Published on the first Wednesday of the month*

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LABOUR DIVI

A R R A N G E - M E N T S have been made with the Co-operative Union and the London Co-operative Society for the Labour Party to be allocated a national Co-operative Trading number.

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The number now allocated to the Party is L 99777.

LABOUR THROWS OUT A CHALLENGE

LATER this month Labour will publish its new policy statement—Morgan Phillips writes on the background to it elsewhere in this issue. This statement will be studied and discussed by local parties and affiliated organisations all over the country, and it will be finally approved or amended at the Labour Party conference in September.

This policy statement will command wide comment in the Press—already speculation and rumour have kept the political correspondents busy for several months. Much of this comment will unfortunately be unintelligent and some of it will be malicious. But, fair or foul, it will all demonstrate the importance of the new policy, not only to Labour but to the whole country and indeed to the world.

The title chosen for the statement is highly significant. "Challenge to Britain" means just what it says. In the immediate post-war years, under Labour Governments, Britain made a rapid and remarkable recovery.

At the same time new social policies raised living standards and brought in the Welfare State.

To-day, under the Tories, Britain is in grave peril. Production is lagging behind, exports are alarmingly low while imports are equally alarmingly high, mass unemployment is again a real possibility. Britain cannot survive long under these conditions; the slightest recession in America could plunge us into a major slump.

Labour has prepared a plan to revive our economy, restore our position in the world, and further the socialist concept of equality at home. This plan calls for far-reaching changes in our ideas and in the structure of our economy. It calls for hard work and resolution. That is why it is called a challenge to Britain.

It is the type of challenge which the British people appreciate and to which they gladly respond. Labour is confident that when the next election comes the people of Britain will take up the challenge and empower Labour to lead the country through to solvency and social justice.

CHALLENGE TO BRITAIN

MORGAN PHILLIPS GIVES THE BACKGROUND TO LABOUR'S POLICY

LATER this month Labour Parties and affiliated organisations throughout the country will receive copies of a complete restatement of policy which will provide the main business for our coming Annual Conference at Margate.

Annual Conference is the supreme policy-making body of the Labour Party. Its function is to propose, debate and produce policy by democratic decision.

It was by a decision of Annual Conference that the new document itself was prepared. The main resolution moved at Morecambe by the North Islington Labour Party read as follows:

"That this Conference, recognising the need to place before the electorate a policy covering a set period, resolves that a similar course of action to that adopted in 1945 be followed by drawing up a five-year programme of policy and proposed legislation for submission to the electorate prior to the next election.

"This programme shall:

"(a) Give a Socialist answer to the recurring economic crises, the causes of which are often of an international nature. This involves the carrying out of plans for the development of the backward areas through a World Plan for Mutual Aid and the establishment of freedom and self-government for all oppressed peoples, and the fostering of international trade on a basis free from restrictions imposed by political differences, especially in the under-developed countries, and the negotiation of long-term exchange goods agreements wherever possible.

A more Socialist society

"(b) As our ultimate security depends in the last analysis on our productivity and raising the efficiency of British industry there should be greater public control over production. This involves the enlargement of the public sector by further nationalisation and by the extension of municipal and Co-operative enterprise. Conference therefore instructs the National Executive Committee to draw up a list of the key and major industries to be taken into public ownership during the five-year programme, it being made clear that no further sums of compensation shall be paid in respect of these industries being renationalised, and that the basis of compensation

for newly nationalised industries and services shall be fair to the consumers and the workers.

"(c) The programme shall elaborate the plans for Britain's next steps towards a more Socialist society with special attention to increasing the share of the national income taken by workers by hand and brain and to a more speedy diminishing of the existing inequality of wealth. Vigorous action should be taken, legislative if necessary, in nationalised and private industry to increase democracy in the workplace. Radical educational reforms should be pushed through to ensure the fullest possible opportunity for all.

"(d) The programme shall include proposals to restore, co-ordinate and extend the value and scope of the social services.

"(e) Make clear beyond doubt how a Labour Government can secure the safety of the country and support the United Nations and its agencies, with a view to maintaining and strengthening democracy in the world, without at the same time endangering economic solvency and the social achievements of the people; oppose strongly any suggestion that the armaments now being built up to deter aggression should be employed to impose on any other country changes in Government or internal policies, or to vary by force existing treaties."

One million words

The acceptance of the resolution meant a complete overhaul of the Party's views on all the major problems of the day. This has been the main task of the National Executive since its election in October.

A number of extra sub-committees and working parties were set up immediately to make the necessary investigations. A vast quantity of documentary investigations amounting to nearly a million words was eventually supplied to the N.E.C., and from this vital material a document of some 18,000 words has now been compiled.

Its title, appropriate to the spirit of the resolution that inspired it, is "Challenge to Britain," and it covers every aspect of national affairs from the dollar problem to local government. A shortened, popular version will follow later, and in July a complete restatement of the

Party's foreign policy will be circulated to all organisations.

In previous years, when a policy statement has been placed before Conference, it has been the practice to take a simple vote on acceptance or rejection of the document as a whole.

This year, in view of the vital questions involved and the immense interest that has been evinced by Parties, the Press and the public prior to its publication, the National Executive Committee has devised a method which will provide an opportunity for all organisations to submit amendments to the proposals contained in the statement.

All sections of the Party have now been informed that they may elect to submit to Annual Conference either an amendment to a general resolution on the agenda or to the policy statement itself.

Amendments may be submitted up to August 14, which is the closing date under the Constitution.

These can then be printed in the Final Agenda, which will be prepared immediately afterwards and issued to affiliated organisations around the beginning of September. The Final Agenda will also include amendments to the Constitution and Standing Orders as well as general resolutions and amendments.

Time for amendments

Some of the general resolutions and amendments thereto will, no doubt, deal with aspects of policy covered in the Policy Statement. It is proposed that affiliated organisations responsible for such resolutions and amendments should be invited either to take part in postal consultations or to be represented at the group meetings which will be called immediately before Conference, to consider the compositing of amendments to the Policy Statement.

The Margate Conference will therefore be a vitally important event in our Party's history. For the six years of the two Labour Governments the demands of day-to-day problems precluded the possibility of any real long-term policy discussions or even extended investigations by the leaders of the Party.

In opposition the opportunity returns. For the purposes of complete objectivity we began our deliberations *de novo*. The only factors that remained constant were the guiding principles of democratic Socialism upon which our Movement is founded.

The nature of the challenge

We began by examining the economic situation and reviewed in very great detail the problems raised by the balance—or, rather, the unbalance—of trade. Everything that was discussed and decided was related to the solution of this problem which, unsolved, could bedevil all our subsequent plans.

The more deeply we probed into our economic problems the more obvious it became that Britain was indeed still faced with a challenge to its survival as a trading nation and, indeed, as a political power in the world.

The stark truth about our economic future, despite the fact that it has been steadily and ruinously ignored by the present Government, remains constant. For fifty years Britain's capacity as a trading power has been declining as the manufacturing capacity of other nations of the world has increased.

What Labour did

The two world wars brought our difficulties to a point of crisis. A quarter of our national wealth had to be sacrificed. Most of our valued foreign assets had to be sold or pledged and, in addition, we piled up vast debts, not only within the Commonwealth but to foreign nations. Moreover, the terms of trade had turned against us.

It was this situation which the two Labour Governments inherited and to a very large extent overcame during their six years of office. By the methods of public control of our basic industries the careful planning of our industrial production and export policy, and the insistence on a steady policy of capital investment, Britain made an industrial recovery that was the admiration of the world.

All these policies lapsed with the return of the present Government. In the name of "freedom," the guiding reins on our economy have been dropped, and there has been an immediate decline in production and exports, both of which are absolutely vital to the nation and to the personal welfare of every man, woman and child in this country.

In the new programme we have set out in very great detail our proposals for reclaiming and expanding our flagging economy. This will provide the foundation for a whole series of new plans for the development of the social services, education, housing and nutrition policies.

A bold and radical policy

There has been much speculation in the press about the actual detail of the proposals. I will not attempt to correct or amplify those forecasts before the complete printed document has been circulated to our affiliated organisations later this month.

I will say, however, that in "Challenge to Britain" our proposals are bold and radical. We shall outline drastic Socialist measures which alone can turn our present economic decline towards lasting prosperity. We shall propose a far-reaching reorganisation of some sections of our industry and a rapid continuation of the agricultural expansion which was so successfully begun under the two Labour Governments.

These projects are vital to our future as a nation. They will undoubtedly involve a number of material changes in the lives of our people and the sacrifice of some of our cherished habits and traditions. We believe that this aspect of the programme will capture the imagination of the British people, inasmuch as it is both a practical plan for prosperity and a rallying call for the economic independence of our nation.

INTERNATIONAL

BRITAIN SPEAKS UP

A new 'Locarno'?

"THE supreme event which has occurred since we last had a debate on foreign affairs is, of course, the change of attitude and, as we all hope, of mood, which has taken place in the Soviet domains and particularly in the Kremlin since the death of Stalin." These words were used by the Prime Minister in the Foreign Affairs Debate in the House of Commons on May 11.

He spoke of a "spontaneous and healthy evolution which may be taking place inside Russia," and declared that he was "anxious that nothing in the presentation of foreign policy by the NATO Powers should, as it were, supersede or take the emphasis out of what may be a profound movement of Russian feeling." It would be "a mistake to assume that nothing can be settled with Soviet Russia unless and until everything is settled."

If a solution could be achieved in Korea and Austria the consequent easing of relations might open new prospects for security and prosperity throughout the world. Dealing particularly with Germany, the "dominating problem" in Europe, the Prime Minister aroused speculation by suggesting the possibility of a Locarno-type treaty in which the Soviet Union and Germany might each be given outside guarantees against aggression.

"I must make it plain," he said, "that in spite of all the uncertainties and confusion in which world affairs are plunged, I believe that a conference on the highest level should take place between the leading Powers without long delay. This conference should not be overhung by a ponderous or rigid agenda, or led into mazes and jungles of technical details, zealously contested by hordes of experts and officials drawn up in cumbrous array.

Something better

"The conference," the Prime Minister continued, "should be confined to the smallest number of Powers and persons possible. It should meet with a measure of informality and a still greater measure of privacy and seclusion. It might well be that no hard-faced agreements would be reached, but there might be a general feeling among those gathered together that they might do something better than tear the human race, including themselves, into bits."

Mr. Clement Attlee declared that the Prime Minister's speech in "its general tone and approach was warmly welcomed on this side of the House." Mr. Attlee turned at once to the change of internal policy in Russia.

"There does seem to be a definite departure from the autocracy of Stalin," he said, "and it rather confirms the view that

many of us held, that Stalin was, in fact, the master of Russian policy." Mr. Attlee emphasised that, in dealing with Russia, piecemeal solutions to individual problems should not be disdained—"When the logs are jammed in the river one must begin by extricating a single log, or one or two logs, in the hope that thereby the whole mass may move."

It was particularly important, said Mr. Attlee, to establish closer personal relations between British statesmen and the leaders of the new Soviet Administration as this might help to "dissipate some of the Soviet mythology about Britain." Mr. Attlee emphasised that, while he had no illusions as to the activities of the Comintern, it was wrong to assume that all the troubles of the world were due to Communist initiative.

The fact that Soviet Russia, for her own purposes, gave her support to every nationalist movement, did not mean that there were no genuine nationalist movements in Indo-China, Egypt, Arabia and Africa. To ascribe all these movements to Communist intrigue would be an oversimplification, said Mr. Attlee, and he went on to criticise a body of opinion in the United States which tends to fall into this error.

Mr. Attlee also pointed out the error of "people in this country and elsewhere who tend to put down all our troubles to American policy." After expressing his appreci-

ation of all that the Americans had done for the world, Mr. Attlee went on to state certain facts about the American Constitution "which do not always seem to be apprehended."

"In America," he said, "power is divided between the Administration and Congress . . . therefore the Government in America are not really master in their own house . . . sometimes one finds that Congress takes the bit between its teeth, and one sometimes wonders who is the more powerful, the President or Senator McCarthy." This difficulty in determining where effective power lay was one of the disadvantages of the American system of democracy.

"I am not complaining," Mr. Attlee said, but "one wants to face these facts." Although he believed the American Administration was seeking to end the war, Mr. Attlee said there were elements in the United States which did not want a settlement. "There are people who want an all-out war with China and against Communism in general, and there is the strong influence of the Chiang Kai-shek lobby."

In view of these facts, and in order to strengthen the hands of the American Administration, Mr. Attlee urged that advisers from other U.N. States concerned should join the American negotiators at Panmunjom.

Speaking of Britain's relations with China, Mr. Attlee emphasised that, if an armistice is concluded in Korea, China



THERE MUST BE A THIRD WAY

Guardian") illustrates the true political

This penetrating Low cartoon (published by arrangement with the "Manchester significance of the new British proposals.

should subsequently be admitted to the United Nations Security Council.

Discussing present restrictions on trade with China, he declared that Britain could not survive if she were "to be restricted, unable to trade effectively with the U.S. ('Trade not Aid' does not seem to have been accepted over there), cut off from China and with all the difficulties of the Iron Curtain. We, therefore, have as vital an interest as anybody in the settlement of this China affair, and I am sure that our American friends will recognise this."

Dealing with the position in French Indo-China, Mr. Attlee declared that colonialism was undoubtedly a thing of the past in Asia. Without wishing to blame the French for their difficulty in understanding the new forces which were moving, Mr. Attlee could not help thinking that there was a possibility, at one time, that the problem in Indo-China could have been settled.

"Ho Chi-minh might to-day have been a Prime Minister in a part of Indo-China—Viet Nam—just as some other people with whom we have disagreed in the past are now Prime Ministers in the British Commonwealth. It is essential that the French should accept the logic of events."

Referring to President Eisenhower's speech and Pravda's reply, "which showed some signs of thaw in the frozen region of the relationships of Russia with the Western world," he welcomed the Prime Minister's proposal for a high-level conference, and agreed that it should be staged without an "enormous retinue of experts." Reverting, for a moment, to his earlier point concerning the American Constitution, Mr. Attlee warned that the conference would need most careful preparations.

We and the Americans would have to be sure of what we wanted, he said—"It would be possible for President Eisenhower to attend a conference, and, on his return to the United States, to be thrown over, as President Wilson was after the discussions at Versailles. It is, therefore, essential that whoever goes to this conference should go with full authority."

"I am quite certain," he concluded, "that Great Britain still has the power and the will to give a lead for peace."

McCarthy's progress

Washington.

AS Washington confronts the challenge of the steadily unfolding Communist "peace offensive" which began with the offer to exchange sick and wounded prisoners of war, the battle over the control of the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy continues unabated. The line-up—Senator McCarthy against President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles—seems at first sight unequal, but the Administration troops have yet to show much stomach for the fight.

Senator McCarthy opened the attack with his investigation of the Voice of America. This now appears a very modest beginning, but it displayed the full armoury of the Senator's weapons. Over a period of many months disgruntled and in some

cases well-nigh psychopathic employees and ex-employees of the Voice had been carefully cultivated by members of McCarthy's staff, their stories recorded, and every item in them which could be used to discredit the Voice of America, and through it the State Department, carefully catalogued.

Then the whole concoction was served up piping hot to a nation-wide television audience, almost before Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, the official within whose department the Voice of America functions, had time to settle in his new post.

The next round came with the submission to the Senate by the President of Charles Bohlen's name as nominee for Ambassador to Moscow. After a bruising Senatorial battle, this was confirmed by a 74 to 13 vote, on the face of it a distinct setback for the Senator. Yet, actually, he had scored several significant gains, which he will doubtless further exploit in the future.

Dulles himself opened the door to the State Department to Senator McCarthy when, in a misguided effort to placate him, he appointed Mr. R. W. Scott McLeod, a close friend and associate of McCarthy, as his Security Officer. This implied pledge that the loyalty of State Department officials would be judged according to McCarthyite standards was one that Dulles was soon to regret. For it became clear from the beginning of the Bohlen battle that McLeod was "leaking" confidential information from the Bohlen dossier to McCarthy and his colleagues in the fight, particularly Senator Bridges—in flagrant disregard to his duty to his nominal superior, Mr. Dulles.

Over the counter

When McCarthy, having already suggested the application of a lie-detector to Bohlen, went on to propose that Dulles himself be asked to testify under oath, decent Republicans like Senator Knowland, of California, were outraged. Yet here again McCarthy scored an important point. The Senate appointed a two-man committee, Senator Taft for the Republicans and Senator Sparkman for the Democrats, to go to the State Department and examine the official summary of Bohlen's dossier, thus in effect refusing to take Dulles' assurance that it contained nothing of substance reflecting upon Bohlen.

They did not see the dossier itself, nor was Senator McCarthy entrusted with a place on the mission. Yet, considering the fashion in which one step has followed another, few observers here preclude the possibility that McCarthy will one day be personally and officially examining State Department dossiers, thus getting over the counter the information he has been getting under the counter through his team of informers in the Department.

Connoisseurs of McCarthyism, when the 74 to 13 Bohlen vote was announced, predicted that the Senator would immediately create some fresh sensation so that new headlines would eclipse the old. And they were right. Without consulting any other members of the Senate Committee which



WITCH-HUNTER Senator Joe McCarthy has caused near-panic and confusion in American politics with his violent, irresponsible campaign to root out alleged Communists.

he heads, he announced that he had "negotiated" an agreement with an association of Greek shipowners to cease trading with Communist China.

The next day "Herblock," Washington's most popular cartoonist, showed McCarthy, at a kiosk in front of the State Department with the sign: "Official State Department—Patronize No Other!"

It seemed at first that the Administration would seek to put McCarthy in his place, Harold Stassen, the Mutual Security Administrator and a one-time aspirant for the Presidency, accused McCarthy to his face of having "undermined" American foreign policy. But it soon became apparent that the Administration was not going to back him up.

Dulles invited McCarthy to luncheon, and a joint statement was issued reiterating that negotiation with foreign countries was the prerogative of the State Department, but commending McCarthy for performing a patriotic public service. The Senator closed this episode by blandly denying that he had ever spoken of "negotiating" with the Greek shipowners. Eisenhower endorsed the joint statement and Stassen, abandoned by his colleagues, had to eat his words.

It seems that President Eisenhower remains unaware of the damage that McCarthy is doing to him and his Administration. He continues to ignore efforts by the reporters at his Press conferences to win from him a positive repudiation of McCarthy and his tactics. He seems to see it solely as a question of "getting along" with Congress.

Meanwhile, a report by a Senate committee on McCarthy's confused and confusing financial operations remains buried in the files of the Department of Justice. The Senators on the committee were of the opinion that some episodes in the story they unearthed called for legal prosecution, and

it was with that intent that they submitted the report.

Through its chairman, Francis Biddle (himself a former Attorney-General), the leading American progressive organization, Americans for Democratic Action, has now called upon Attorney-General Brownell for a thorough investigation of the financial affairs of Senator McCarthy, to see whether the facts cited by the Senate committee call for legal action against him.

This may not be the tidiest way of disposing of McCarthy. But, if President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles really wish to free their hands in foreign policy so that they can deal with the new perspectives now opening before the world, they would be well advised to perform what is, after all, no more than their clear duty.

DAVID C. WILLIAMS.

Federation on wane?

THE multiplication of initials continues in Europe as elsewhere. After O.E.E.C. (Organisation for European Economic Co-operation) and E.P.U. (European Payments Union) came E.C.S.C. (European Coal and Steel Community or Schuman Plan) and E.D.C. (European Defence Community). The Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe at its last meeting in May debated the project of E.P.C.—a European Political Community, or, as its sponsors prefer to call it, a European Community.

The present position is that the European Coal and Steel Community has been set up and has started its operations. The European Defence Community treaty has been signed by the six governments concerned (France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) but has not yet been ratified by any of them. They are all waiting upon West Germany. There the Social-Democratic Party, in opposition, has been fighting a rearguard action to prevent ratification, or at least delay it until the general election, for which the latest date is early September. After an initial rebuff from the upper house of the West German parliament, the German Chancellor has succeeded in getting the approval of both houses for ratification. There still remains the question whether the treaty constitutionally requires a two-thirds majority. The German constitutional court has to answer this question before the President of the Republic gives his signature. The issue is therefore still in doubt in Germany, and far from certain in the other five countries.

Despite this uncertainty, the governments of the six countries instructed an assembly of parliamentarians to go ahead with the preparation of a semi-federal constitution for a Political Community which would take over the direction of both the Coal and Steel Community and the unrati-fied Defence Community. It was this draft constitution on which the Council of Europe was asked for its opinion.

Two salient points emerged from the discussion. One was the uneasiness of a large section, perhaps the majority, of the Council of Europe Assembly about Article

103 of the draft. This article goes much further than any previous agreements with West Germany by stating that a commitment made by the West German Government shall automatically be binding on a unified Germany. Many speakers pointed out that this provision was not only doubtful in law but was politically dangerous since it might become a major obstacle to the reunification of Germany. Could the Russians be expected to concede the reunification of Germany if that meant that the unified Germany was *automatically* tied to the West? The Assembly avoided a vote on this question, but asked the six governments to give it special consideration.

Sir Winston Churchill's speech in the Foreign Affairs debate was made while the Assembly was engaged in discussing this question, and his observations on the subject of Germany were solemnly read to the Assembly. They only served to increase the doubt and confusion. His reference to the Locarno agreements recalled the way in which Hitler had violated them with impunity. The Locarno agreements had also implied a free hand for Germany in the East. Was it being suggested that they should be applied in reverse? And which frontier was to be guaranteed? His comparison of Dr. Adenauer to Bismarck also recalled the fact that Bismarck achieved the unification of Germany by three wars in succession.

The other point that emerged very clearly was the coolness of the Council of Europe Assembly to the draft constitution as a whole. The draft represents an extremely elaborate compromise between a multilateral treaty and a federal constitution in comparison with which the American, French and German constitutions are child's play.

It was originally intended that the Council of Europe Assembly should recommend the governments of the six countries to proceed to a speedy conclusion of the task of establishing a Political Community, but this was watered down. The resolution as adopted merely asked the governments to make a speedy decision on the draft constitution *one way or another*. Even so, the resolution mustered a very poor vote. Enthusiasm for European federation appears to be on the wane.

Spanish inquisition

This report on recent arrests of Socialists and trade unionists in Franco Spain has been specially written for FACT by an exiled Spanish Socialist, who for obvious reasons must remain anonymous. His report comes from Paris.

REPORTS of political repression in Spain appear so frequently in the Press that one tends to accept them in the same aggrieved, but somewhat indifferent, way that one accepts a war casualty list, believing that very little can be done about it. Yet the worst possible attitude that any Democrat (and certainly Socialist) can adopt towards Spain is to accept the present state of affairs as inevitable.

To do this is to blunt the one great

weapon with which we are still able to combat Franco's dictatorship—the tyrant's fear of exposure and denunciation before public opinion in the free democracies. Clearly it is our duty, and the duty of all who uphold democracy, to make every possible use of this weapon until an end is put to the inhuman practices of the Fascist régime.

Fresh evidence of its severity has been provided in recent weeks. Tomas Centeno, leader of the underground Spanish Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español), was arrested a few weeks ago, together with other leading members of the Party, in Madrid. Two days later his twelve-year-old son called at police headquarters anxious for news of his father's whereabouts.

To his horror he was presented with his father's body, with the terse police explanation that Centeno had "committed suicide while under arrest."

At the same time, another round-up was in progress in Barcelona, where members of the Socialist Movement of Catalonia (Catalonian sister-organisation of the Spanish Socialist Party) and the U.G.T. (Socialist Trade Union) were being arrested. Among these was Ramon Porqueras, the leader of the Movement in Catalonia. After his arrest nothing was heard of his fate and, in the light of bitter experience, fears arose as to his physical safety.

By this time news of the outrages had spread abroad. The Socialist International and a group of British Socialist Members of Parliament reacted without delay, sending telegrams of protest to Franco demanding humane treatment for the arrested men. A few days later the Franco police were making unusual efforts to publicise the fact that Porqueras was being held in the model jail in Barcelona. Public denunciation and protest abroad had undoubtedly saved his life.

The facts of these arrests have become generally known throughout Spain. The disgust which they have aroused in the mind of the Spanish public is so obvious that the police have taken the unwonted step of publishing articles in the Press purporting to prove the "suicide" of Tomas Centeno.

Let us look at the actual situation of the arrested men. They have now been held in prison for over a month, during which time they have suffered physical violence at the hands of the police.

The Charter of Civil Rights promulgated by Franco in 1945 lays down that "no person may be detained for more than 72 hours unless charges against him are produced in court within that time . . . failing the preferring of charges he must be released." No charges have been made against our comrades, nor has any judicial order for their custody been issued.

No lawyer has been appointed to defend them, nor have they been allowed to appoint one for themselves.

The prisoners are being held at the disposal of a "special" judge attached to the "Military Court for the Repression of Communism and Spying." Up to the present, this judge has also been unable

to formulate any charges against them. The appointment of a special military tribunal implies a pre-judgment on the part of the police, and is a fateful omen for the prisoners, as no limit is set to the powers of this type of tribunal in Spain.

In addition to illegal detention and ill-treatment, the prisoners have suffered sanctions from the State-controlled "Trade Unions." These have compelled their employers to dismiss them and to stop their wages and any potential relief pay.

It is clear that, under Franco's own laws, the prisoners should either be charged and tried without delay or, in the absence of any charge, should be immediately released. But this creates an embarrassing situation for the dictator. Although he would like nothing better than to convict our comrades of Communism, he is unable to do so since the Communists themselves, through the medium of their Spanish - language publication "Mundo Obrero" (published abroad), have denounced Porqueras and the Party as "Socialists and friends of Britain."

The alternative charge of "spying," while it is no doubt adequate for sentence in the secret conclaves of Franco's police, would also be bound to fail in open court.

Thus the only charge that can be brought openly against our friends is that they are members of Socialist and Trade Union Groups, a charge which they will not attempt to deny, and which they will, indeed, be honoured to accept whatever the consequences.

They will be supported in their stand by many sympathisers throughout the country. With one accord these people call upon their friends in the free world to assist them in their fight.

Continued denunciation of Franco's outrages, and continued insistence upon proper trials for his victims, in the presence of foreign legal representatives, will demonstrate the solidarity of freedom-loving people outside and inside Spain, and will give the Spanish Socialists fresh proof that their courageous struggle will not be in vain.

Japanese line-up

JAPAN'S Liberal leader, Mr. Yoshida, was re-elected Prime Minister on May 19. He defeated Mr. Shigemitsu, of the Progressive Party, by 204 votes to 116 in the Diet. These Party names are misleading. Japan's "Liberals" and "Progressives" are both well to the Right.

Mr. Yoshida's position is not as secure as his vote would indicate. It was a minority vote, in which the Right and Left wing Socialists (138 members in all) abstained.

The "Left Wing" Socialist Party made great progress in the recent elections for the House of Representatives, capturing a total of 16 new seats (not six as we reported last month). Six new seats were also gained by the "Right Wing" Socialist Party. In the election for the Upper House of Councillors, the Left Wing Socialists won 40 seats, thus becoming the second strongest party.

FACTSIMILE



Mrs. Mabel Ridealgh

THE Women's Co-operative Guild has selected as its next General Secretary one of its former national presidents, Mrs. Mabel Ridealgh. An active Co-operator and Labour Party member for over thirty years, she has held many offices in both movements, and was Member of Parliament for Ilford North from 1945 to 1950.

Mrs. Ridealgh was educated at elementary schools and evening classes run by London University, and before entering the key occupation of housewife and mother to one son and one daughter, she was a Civil Servant with the Income Tax Department. She is a member of U.S.D.A.W. and of the Fabian Society.

During the war she was an honorary regional organiser for a section of the Board of Trade, and was also a member of the Ministry of Labour's National Committee for Welfare of Workers. In Parliament she served on parliamentary delegations to Belgium and Luxembourg, and was a deputy delegate to the Council of Europe's 1949 assembly. She was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce Laws in 1951.

All over the country, Women's Co-operative Guilds are doing excellent work, providing amenities for their members to educate themselves and also enjoy themselves, while at the same time helping to spread knowledge of the Co-operative ideal. Mrs. Ridealgh, with her wealth of political experience and her boundless enthusiasm, is ideally suited to the task of guiding the Guild.

BEHIND THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION

by Senator W. G. Ballinger

THE result of the General Election held in South Africa in April continues to excite considerable comment and discussion in the country. This is understandable, since it placed in office as the Government the Party which polled a minority of the votes cast and allocated for unopposed returns. In actual seats, 94 went to the Nationalists (Dr. Malan's Party) and 61 to the United Front, consisting of the Torch Commando, United Party and Labour Party. The combination of votes cast and added for unopposed returns was 772,000 for the United Front and 638,000 for the Nationalists, leaving the latter in a minority of 134,000.

This Alice-in-Wonderland climax to an election fought to determine the Volkswil has instead focused a spotlight on the continuing violation in South Africa of the democratic principle of "one vote, one value." This state of affairs derives from the Act of Union of 1909, when it was agreed that rural, or *platteland*, parliamentary constituencies should be allowed to register up to 15 per cent less voters than those that fell in the industrial parts of the country, on the grounds that the rural areas were not so well served with communications as the towns. That is a claim which to-day has little real justification.

However, the Nationalists have strenuously opposed any attempt to even modify this loading, since their numerical strength is in the *platteland*. These rural constituencies are overwhelmingly Afrikaans in speech, tradition and sentiment. In argument before the Delimitation Commission, Nationalist organisers have adopted the simple line of advocating continued loading, and in some instances have demanded increases up to 20 and 25 per cent on the undisputed grounds that people are leaving the countryside for the towns; where they do not appear to shed their Nationalist allegiance.

The Nationalist Party policy on relations between Black and White to be regulated in terms of White *Baaskap* allied to *Apartheid* is thus gaining support in the towns, and by comparison the United Party's variation on the theme of European leadership coupled to segregation is losing ground. In herding its electoral flock into kraals the Nationalists are proving much more clever than the opposition.

The election campaign itself, both in the written and spoken words, descended to new low levels in appeals to preserve white civilisation in South Africa. The witches' cauldron of racialism was fed up to boiling point by the Nationalist propagandists, so much so that fisticuffs were at times employed. The Mau Mau rising in Kenya was exploited to the full by the Nationalists, urging increased control of the *kafirs*, *kleurlinge* and coolies (Natives, Coloureds

and Indians) to prevent a similar rising in South Africa.

More drastic curtailment of liberties was advocated to deal with the "liberalists," the friends of the Natives. And, of course, affronts of various kinds were hurled by the Nationalists at all things British.

Senator W. G. Ballinger is one of the four representatives of the coloured people in the South African Senate. A former secretary of Motherwell and Wishaw Trades and Labour Council, he went out to South Africa in 1928 as an adviser on industrial and co-operative organisation in the Union. He has consistently fought against the oppressive racial policies pursued by both major parties in South Africa.

Towards the end of the campaign the United Front's counter to the Nationalists left many electors wondering if they were trying to steal the Nationalist's thunder on such issues as keeping South Africa White. This deterioration in the presentation of their case showed how handicapped they were in having no Afrikaans daily or weekly newspaper of their own.

The Labour Party section of the Front emerged from the election with four seats against a former six, with one seat still vacant that it should retain. It is to-day, however, nothing more than an appendage of the United Party, a fact which it seeks to hide by sporadic bursts of liberalism. As a Party it is bound to maintaining the colour bar in industry, on the grounds that



STRAUSS In the South African elections, Africans would have voted for Strauss' United Party. But between Strauss and Malan distinctions on racial policy narrowed down to nothing.

any attempt to abolish it would be exploited by employers.

This is a dilemma they try to resolve by claiming that they are in favour of equal pay for equal work, a specious slogan in a political, social and industrial setting such as exists in South Africa to-day.

It should be emphasised that the election for the Eleventh Parliament of the Union of South Africa, like its predecessors, was not a "general" election in the normal democratic meaning of that term. Voting was limited to 1½ million whites or Europeans and 50,000 "Coloured Males," the latter having a franchise based on earnings, or property plus a simple education test. In other words, the General Election covered less than a third of the total population of 13 millions.

Yet the two-thirds who were not allowed to vote were vitally concerned since it was around their future that the election battle raged. Towards the end of the campaign it became clear that the choice between the Nationalists and the Front had been resolved into distinctions without much of a difference. It is true, however, that if the Africans and Indians had been allowed to choose they would have declared overwhelmingly for the Front—a tragic reminder that there is a White oligarchy within this part of the British Commonwealth that rules from behind a democratic façade in defiance of the principles of the United Nations.

South Africa to-day is a cockpit of stresses and strains where fears, imagined and real, tend to unbalance reason and produce insurrections between factions within racial groups that otherwise should be homogeneous, which in turn move almost imperceptibly into revolutionary outbreaks.

This is the atmosphere in which Parliament will meet on July 3. In such circumstances legislation is likely to be enacted which will increase existing tensions and worsen relations between all sections of South Africa's multi-racial population. The future looks very far from bright.

Hastings & St. Leonards SOCIALIST HOTELIERS' ASSOCIATION

The Association has a double objective: to enrol as many hoteliers in the Labour Party as possible, and to provide Labour Party members all over the country with good holiday accommodation in Socialist establishments. The Association pays over all excess of commissions over expenses to the Hastings Borough Labour Party, to which it is affiliated.

Come and spend your holidays in Tory Hastings—but stay at Socialist hotels and boarding houses.

Illustrated brochure from the Secretary:

J. A. CHAMBERS,

5, YORK BUILDINGS, HASTINGS



LIGHT OUT OF DARKNESS

COAL is basic to Britain. It provides the power for our industry. It heats, and helps to light, our homes and streets. It earns valuable foreign currency in the export market. It is the source of an almost endless variety of by-products that we and industry use every day.

Without coal we should cease to be an industrial nation, millions of our workers would be unemployed, life would be, to quote from a different context, "nasty, brutish and short."

In the years before the war coal production was falling, miners were leaving the pits that offered them no security and only starvation wages. During the war years the industry had to be placed under public control and a total of £27½ millions was paid out in the form of a subsidy to the industry. To advise on the changes necessary to make the industry more efficient a technical committee was set up in 1944. This committee—the Reid Committee—drew attention to the urgent need for reconstruction on the largest scale, and emphasised that the existing system of ownership was unable to provide this.

Against this background the Labour Government brought into being the National Coal Board, responsible through Parliament to the people, on 1st January, 1947, to run the industry.

The Board took over nearly 1,500 collieries and many other undertakings attached to them—brickworks, coke-ovens and by-product plants. Overall, the Board took on 800,000 employees and an industry with an annual turnover in the region of £500 million.

The former colliery owners were awarded compensation for their properties. An independent tribunal set the value of the industry at £164 million, and this sum is being paid out as government guaranteed stock. Interim payments of about £13 million a year are being paid by the Board as a first charge on its accounts. It is important to note that regardless of the financial position of the industry on its year's working, this "dividend" must be paid.

Last year the industry showed a normal operating profit in the region of £6 million. But this was turned into a deficit by the payment of compensation interest. In private enterprise industry, the interest paid out would be cut according to the size of the profits.

With its chairman the National Coal Board has 12 members, only three of whom have departmental duties. Under the Board are nine Divisional Boards, each responsible for a group of coalfields, and these divisions are subdivided into 51 areas, each with a general manager and its own team of specialists. Every pit has its own manager who is responsible for day-to-

day working, and also for the safety of the miners working at it.

Contrary to some opinion, the Divisional Boards have a considerable amount of authority. They are able to embark, for instance, on reconstruction schemes up to a cost of £250,000 without obtaining approval from the National Board. Of the first £100 million invested under nationalisation, over three-quarters was approved in the Divisions without reference to London.

The results so far achieved by the Board are substantial. Production has gone up, output per man is higher, the drift away from the pits has been reversed, great capital development schemes have been started, mechanisation is proceeding fast. Even in the field of prices, the cost of coal has been held much steadier than that of other raw materials and products.

In the twenty years between the wars, 400,000 miners left the industry. In 1941 the labour force was under 697,000. By 1952 it had been built up to 716,000. Output per manshift in 1938 was 1.14 tons, and by 1945 it was down to 1.0 tons. By 1952 it had been raised to 1.19 tons.

Plan for the future

Under private ownership production fell steadily. From the peak year of 1913, with 287 million tons, output dropped right down to 190 million tons in 1946, last year before nationalisation. By 1952 it was back up to 226 million tons, having risen steadily year by year.

Reconstruction and development is being given a high priority. Under its 1950 "Plan for Coal," the Board has a scheduled investment of more than £500 million over 15 years. Last year, investment totalled £38 million, as against £26 million the previous year. Some four-fifths of all our coal is now mechanically cut and conveyed, and 11 million tons were power-loaded in 1952 (as against 8 million tons the year before). Over half the total output of coal is mechanically cleaned.

Before nationalisation mining was a black occupation in more than one sense. Unemployment was frequent and widespread, industrial relations were bad, wages were low. As recently as 1938 the average weekly wage was £2 17s. 11d. By 1946 it had risen to only £6 3s. 2d. In 1952 it was £11 5s. 0d. Output per man year has increased from 260 tons in 1946 to almost 300 tons in 1952; this compares well with 290 tons in 1938.

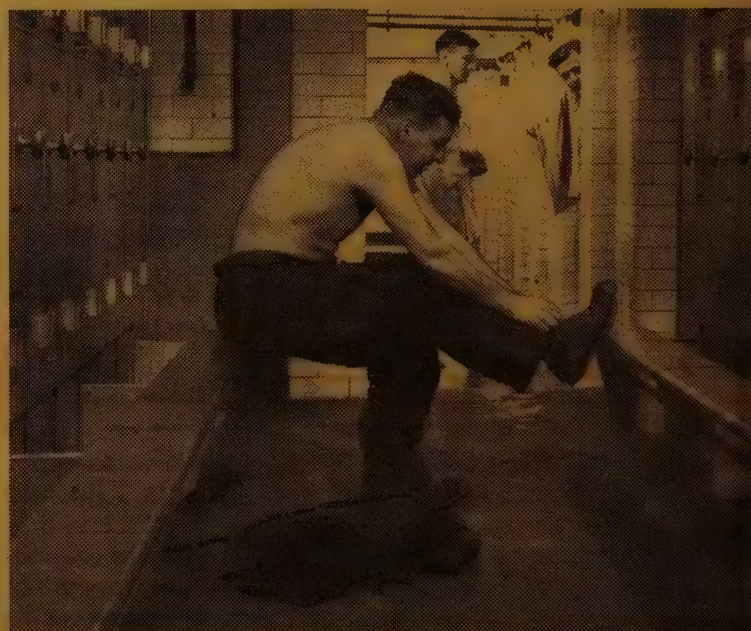
The industry is to-day more attractive than it has ever been, as the man-power improvement shows. Especially revealing is the fact that last year 27,000 juveniles (under 18) entered the industry, and also that in the vital age-group of 21-30, wastage fell last year by over 30 per cent.

Educational facilities are being extensively de-

(Continued on page 14.)



Mining is a dirty and dangerous job, its casualty rate is higher than most, and it has unpleasant occupational diseases. Since nationalisation, however, conditions have been greatly improved and more men are going into the industry. There are to-day 24,000 more miners than in the last year before nationalisation.



At all new and reorganised collieries the Coal Board is providing the best-equipped pit-head baths. At all other pits, it has increased its expenditure towards the cost of new baths by twopence a ton of coal produced.

Miners used to forbid their sons to enter the industry. During the war "Bevin boys" had to be conscripted to increase manpower. To-day, the situation has changed. The "Ladder Plan" offers fine chances of promotion, educational facilities are good—including one hundred university scholarships a year. In 1952, a record was established with 27,000 youngsters entering the industry.



You get hungry—and thirsty—digging out the coal, and extra vitamins are needed for the job. Pit canteens see to it that the miners get the right food, and in the right quantities.



This zinc bath on the kitchen floor is a relic of the old days that are fast disappearing. Behind the bath is a symbol of the new days, a modern slow-combustion stove.



The surest way of increasing coal production is by mechanisation. The Coal Board is pressing forward with big schemes to save as much manpower and effort as possible. Already four-fifths of all coal mined is mechanically cut and conveyed.



Down in the bowels of the earth the sun cannot penetrate. To make up some of the vitality that they miss through working underground, more and more miners are receiving treatment in artificial sun-ray centres.



Appropriately the National Coal Board has as its motto "E Tenebris Lux," which means "Light out of Darkness."

(Continued from page 12.)

veloped. To provide the mining engineers and technicians so badly needed, 100 university scholarships are offered each year to young miners and to boys at school. A special training scheme called the "Ladder Plan" to raise tradesmen's and technicians' standards is in operation.

The work of the old Miners' Welfare Commission has been taken over by the Board, which now provides all welfare at the pit. Pithead baths are constructed by the board at all new or reorganised collieries, and for other pits the Board has increased the provision for new pithead baths by 2d. a ton of coal produced at the pit.

In July of 1947 a comprehensive mines medical service was set up and already much progress has been made in replacing the old first-aid rooms with well-equipped medical centres.

Much work remains to be done. But in its short life so far, the National Coal Board has revitalised the coal industry. Our industrial future depends on the success of the great experiment in public ownership they are conducting. The omens so far look good.

More and more of the old pit ponies are being given their freedom—like the one in our picture at a special pony hospital, which symbolises the new age.

The Board's motto is "E Tenebris Lux," which means "Light out of Darkness." The coal industry today is indeed producing light—and heat and power as well—from out of the bowels of the earth. There are points to criticise with the Coal Board; it would be unnatural if there were not. But Labour can still be proud of its Coal Industry Nationalisation Act. It will rank as one of the key acts towards Britain's economic recovery.

THE FACTS ABOUT COAL

	1938	1946	1952
Total output			
Mines	227m. tons	181	214
Opencast	—	9	12
Home consumption	177m. tons	186	206
Exports	46m. tons	9	15
Manpower—Overall	781,700	696,700	716,000
Coalface	not available	280,200	294,000
Output per			
Manshift	1.14 tons	1.03	1.19
Output per Man			
per year	290 tons	260	300
Average weekly			
wage	£2 17s. 11d.	£6 3s. 2d.	£11 5s. 0d.
Average pithead			
price	17s. 3d. per ton	38s. 10d.	57s. 3d.



The Coal Board is doing a lot of research work in its laboratories at Stoke Orchard and at many pits all over the country. Above, a miner is using a water spray to suppress dust; below, mine dust is tested for carbon-dioxide content.



Equal pay for equal work?

YES says ANNE GODWIN, OBE



Assistant General Secretary of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, member of the T.U.C. General Council.

HOW dreary the subject of equal pay has become. How boring is the repetition of the arguments. For the past sixty years, ever since women began to enter paid employment in numbers, the discussion has gone back and forth, or to be more precise, round and round like a squirrel in a cage. Why? Why not! Why not! Why?

Thirty years ago, the International Labour Organisation, established as an offshoot of the Treaty of Versailles, set forth the equality of women as one of its fundamental objectives. Thirty-three years ago, the Government of the day received instructions from Parliament, repeated to successive Governments at intervals since, that it should introduce equal pay in the Civil Service.

Successive Governments have wriggled out of their instructions, repeating in firmer and firmer tones as years went by, that they "accepted the principle." Baffled and bewildered the women of to-day say: "Since the principle is accepted, what is there left to argue about? Give us the money, Barney, and have done with it."

What simple creatures we women are. For sixty years we have fought this battle on grounds of justice, logic and reason. If, we said, we can do a job as well as a man—and we assume that is why we are given the same sort of job as a man—it is unjust that we should receive only a proportion of the earnings of the man. You must not tell us, we said, that you pay a man for his family responsibilities, because the man with ten children receives the same wage as the bachelor, and the widow with dependant children receives only the woman's wage.

Moreover, we said, we have observed that a benevolent Government takes on quite a bit of the burden of the married man, what with income tax remissions, family allowances, widow's pensions, health services, free education and subsidised school meals.

Please don't misunderstand us, we hastened to add. We do not object to these social provisions. On the contrary, we welcome them. But it is a little hard, we said, when we find at the end that having assisted the family man with the family burden, we still receive only four-fifths of his earnings.

It might have been better on the whole if the principle had not been accepted. It would at least have given us something

to go on arguing about. We might even find something to laugh about. Mid-Victorian women always had somebody around like the learned divine, Dean Burgon, who told them "Inferior to us God made you and inferior to the end of time you will remain." Nobody says things like that nowadays.

Meanwhile the number of women in gainful employment grows as the years roll by. Nearly one-third of the labour force of the country consists of women. Not only is their labour in general essential to the economic well-being of the country, but in certain fields of employment they form the major bulwark.

The Civil Service would collapse without its women officers. Teaching services could not be maintained without the women. Shops would be less than half-served, clothing factories less than half-manned, looms less than half-tended, if the women decided to leave the work of the country to the men.

They won't, of course. No less than their male colleagues, they work because they must earn. They work for the best wage they can negotiate. And because the Government accepts the principle of equal pay but cannot, so it says, see its way to putting it into practice, the bargain the women make is in the main a poorer bargain than the men make.

There is no longer any real argument about equal pay. Unfortunately there is still little or no equal pay. The battle seems to be dying for the want of ammunition. Is there a Dean Burgon in the house?

NO says R. ANDERSON, JP



General Secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters, and a former Headmaster.

WHENEVER responsible people have to forget the shouting and chanting and get down to doing a little thinking, they begin to realise what the introduction of Equal Pay would mean socially and economically. Let us recall the words of Mr. Hugh Dalton in June, 1947, when he was Chancellor:

"Moreover, if the pay of unmarried women were raised to equality with that of married men, a married man with a family would be left in a relatively worse economic position than any other section of the community."

Now let us turn to the debate in the House of Commons on the adjournment on August 2, 1951. The speaker is Mr. Douglas Jay, and he is replying to the

debate as Financial Secretary to the Treasury on behalf of the Government. He starts off by saying:

"First and foremost I would like to affirm again what I think everybody to-day recognises, that the Government, just as much as hon. Members who have spoken, believe that Equal Pay for Equal Work is desirable and right and is an objective alongside other social objectives, to be attained as soon as national resources allow."

Towards the end of his speech, however, dealing with the consequences that would flow from the adoption of Equal Pay, he goes on to say:

"We must agree that any such decision by the Government would improve the position of the employed woman generally as compared with that of the employed man, or, in other words, of the employed woman in the community, in relation to that of the whole of the rest of the community which, let us remember, includes *most of the women and practically all the children*," and then he goes on to repeat what his predecessors, Mr. Dalton and Mr. Gaitskell, had said.

Is it unfair to point out that Mr. Jay in effect makes two specific statements, rather diametrically opposed to each other and supplies evidence of the great confusion that exists to-day on this question? First, Equal Pay is right and proper and ought to be introduced as soon as economic circumstances allow. Secondly, the consequences of its introduction would be so serious socially and economically that it would be better not to introduce it at all.

Let us consider the position for the moment as it affects the women generally.

First of all there are about twelve million married women in Great Britain. Just over nine million of these are not employed outside the home in any way. For the vast majority of these nine million the money coming into the home comes in with the male bread-winner. The adoption of Equal Pay would reduce their standard of living.

Secondly, nearly three million married women are employed—a great number part-time. Equal pay is of no particular interest to them.

Thirdly, there are, if we exclude girls of 15, 16, 17 and 18, about three million unmarried women in gainful employment. Very many of these are in exclusively women's jobs—domestic service, hotels, dressmaking, laundries, etc.—and they have no interest in Equal Pay at all. All the fuss is being made on behalf of approximately 300,000 women Civil Servants and about 130,000 women teachers.

The nine million housewives engaged upon a task of vital interest to the community who will not gain one penny from the introduction of Equal Pay, and whose husbands' pay packets will be reduced in value in consequence of its introduction, are extremely unlikely to be found rushing to the Poll in an endeavour to unseat any irresponsible Member of Parliament who dares to stand in the way of the realisation of the ambitions of women Civil Servants and teachers and their misguided male supporters.

DENATIONALISATION TONED DOWN

by Ernest Davies, M.P.

THANKS to the Labour Opposition's tenacious fight in Lords and Commons, backed by the Trades Union and Co-operative Movements in the country, the Tories' Transport Bill, which last month received the Royal Assent, is very different from the original Bill introduced last July and even further removed from the Government's transport policy as outlined in its White Paper in May of last year.

The main proposals of the Transport Act, 1953, and the changes that have been incorporated are basically seven.

First, the existing Road Haulage undertaking, worth between £80 million and £100 million, is to be sold off in small lots to private operators at bargain prices, public property is to be sacrificed at a loss of at least £30 million. The White Paper proposed a total sell-out, but following Labour's protests, supported by Sir Ralph Glyn, M.P., and other Tory ex-railway directors, that this would put the railways in a worse position than before nationalisation when they already had a large interest in road haulage, the Commission is to be allowed to retain the same number of lorries then owned, plus a quarter.

They will then have less than 5,000 vehicles out of the total of nearly 40,000 which comprise the publicly owned, nationally operated British Road Services.

Originally all were to be sold in small parcels by a partisan Disposals Board on which road transport interests will predominate.

Small man's chance

Where it is considered by the Commission to be more advantageous to sell through companies their formation is permitted, but even so, preference has to be given to the small man and to those who want to come back into the industry. This condition has priority over obtaining the best price and no more than 50 lorries can be sold at a time without the Minister's consent.

Second, all vehicles are to be taxed to compensate the Commission for the loss on the sale of its road haulage business. As first proposed, this was to be a permanent levy on road transport to subsidise the railways, but it is now to end when the loss has been recovered. The levy was originally to be imposed on all lorries over one ton unladen weight, but Labour's protests that retail delivery vans and local authority vehicles should be exempt has resulted in a raising of the limit to one and a half tons.

Third, to enable the railways to meet competition from private road haulage, they are to be freed from many hampering and out-of-date restrictions. They will be able to make what charges they like within a maximum laid down by the transport tribunal. No longer must they publish

their charges, nor are they prevented from charging different rates as between traders sending the same goods. Traders can appeal, however, against charges on railway "monopoly" traffics.

Further, the Commission is now to be allowed to raise its fares and charges up to 10 per cent before obtaining the transport tribunal's permission. London Transport fares cannot go up more than costs have risen in the London area. The original Bill gave Road Hauliers the right to do the same. This the Opposition got the Minister to drop. In the circumstances, these changes are all to the good but the Opposition claimed unless equal conditions applied to road haulage, competition with the railways would be unequal.

Fourth, the Railway Executive is to go and the railways are to be reorganised with much greater regional autonomy. The scheme, which the Government wants to resemble the pre-war company structure, must now come before Parliament in draft for its consideration. Previously, Parliament was going to be presented with the scheme for acceptance or rejection. Now it will have an opportunity to send it back for revision.

Fifth, the Minister is given power to order the Commission to sell off part of its bus and coach undertakings. He had first sought power to order them to sell the lot, but now he is so limited that he can only direct them to dispose of a controlling interest in road passenger concerns.

Sixth, in addition to these changes,



EXPERT Ernest Davies, Labour M.P. for Enfield, is an authority on public ownership, particularly of transport. In Parliament he has helped to tone down the Tory Bill to denationalise transport.

Labour succeeded in getting some protection for the workers affected by the Bill. Those employed by the Commission who lose their jobs or are in a worse position as a result of the Bill will now be compensated and their pension rights protected. The White Paper had ignored the workers completely.

Seventh, Labour succeeded also in introducing into the Bill a number of amendments of lesser importance, which included an increase in the size of the Commission and the number of its full-time members.

Despite all these changes for the better, this bad and destructive Bill does not become a good Act. The changes enable the Commission to retain a greater number of lorries and a larger share in road passenger transport; a larger number of vehicles are exempt from the levy and changes in the method of disposal should result in a slightly better selling price for some of these national assets; the workers receive some protection.

Loss to community

But the worst features of the Bill remain. The great national network of British Road Services, including its 750 daily scheduled trunk services, its country-wide parcels service and the special traffics division run by Pickfords, will all be broken up. Much of the savings brought to the railways through standardisation and integration will be lost, and if the Commission is ordered to sell its controlling interest in its provincial and Scottish buses the B.E.T. is likely to buy them up and thereby extend its road passenger transport monopoly over an even greater part of the country.

In the long run the break-up of the nationally owned transport system and the introduction of greater competition between road and rail, and within the road transport industry itself, will increase the danger on the roads and worsen the conditions of the workers in the industry. Fares and charges will rise further because the Commission will lose some of its most profitable businesses in road transport and the railways will suffer from greater and unfair competition, losing at the same time much of the economies that came from the unification of the railways and their co-operation with road transport which common ownership made possible.

In sum, therefore, to pay off their election debt to their transport friends, the Tories have forced through Parliament a transport policy which will result in the break-up of the nationally owned transport service at a loss of many millions to the community leading ultimately to a worse service at higher costs.

Health inquiry

EXPRESSING the views of the Labour Party in a Parliamentary debate last month, Mr. Aneurin Bevan told the Government that Labour took the gravest view of the Minister of Health's announcement that a committee was being set up to inquire into the Health Service. He stressed that Labour had no objection to an inquiry into the administration and

organisation of the Service. "Such an inquiry would be quite reasonable.

What made Labour apprehensive was the language used in the committee's terms of reference, following as it did upon certain actions of the Government which led people to believe the Government "are not particularly enthusiastic about the defence of a free Health Service."

"What the terms of reference show," said Mr. Bevan, "is not a sense of jealousy for the service, but a subtly laid plot to provide the Administration with a further excuse for an attack on the service."

It was difficult to understand why the Minister had not made use of the existing machinery that was available to him. When the original Act was being framed, it was agreed between all involved that there should be a Central Advisory Council, whose purpose would be to keep the service under continual review.

The Minister could have used this body at any time if he believed there were certain parts of the service which ought to be inquired into. Mr. Bevan asked why the Minister had not asked the council to act, or why, if there was something seriously wrong, the council has not advised him.

The new committee's terms of reference made it clear why the Minister had not used the council. The council could not advise the Minister to curtail the service. The Minister was not anxious to improve the administration of the Service; he wanted an alibi to cut it.

The Minister's assumption was that the Exchequer would make a sum available to the service, and the committee would decide how it was to be apportioned. That, however, should be a function of Parliament. Priorities were a matter of political judgment, not of expert opinion.

Calculated manoeuvre

Critics of the Health Service had said that there was no limit to the amount of money it could attract from the State. They said it would be abused if there were no control over expenditure.

But before the charges on the service were introduced there had begun a fall in certain services. In 1949-50 the expenditure on the dental service was £42 million. In 1950-1 expenditure was £40 million. In the same period expenditure on the supplementary ophthalmic service fell from £21 million to £19 million.

On the pharmaceutical side expenditure had been going up and was still going up. But there the initiative was mainly with the doctor, and there was disciplinary action open to the Minister.

Mr. Bevan thought it a reflection on the medical profession that in the case of dexadrine, for example, we had spent £400,000 on it last year, when the equivalent on the official formulary would have cost only about £158,000. What was required was not to penalise the patient, but to make an investigation into the profits made by the big drug houses and stiffen more severely the discipline over the general practitioner.

Mr. Bevan declared that if the Govern-

ment wanted to cut the Health Service they should say so and face their responsibility, not call into existence a committee, hoping to be able to hide behind it. What we were having was a calculated manoeuvre against the welfare of the Health Service.

The terms of reference of the committee, against which Labour was protesting, are to review present and future cost of the service, suggest means of ensuring "the most effective control and efficient use of such Exchequer funds as may be made available," and advise how a rising charge can be avoided.

Stop Press

WHEN James Simmons' (Labour, Brierley Hill) Private Member's Bill for the establishment of a Press Council came up for a second reading in Parliament last month, he agreed to withdraw the Bill "because a new set of circumstances has arisen." Since he first introduced his Bill, the various Press organisations have agreed to a constitution for a General Council of the Press whose first meeting should be held next month.

The decision to set up a voluntary Council, as opposed to one set up by Act of Parliament, followed hastily upon the introduction of the Bill (see FACT, January, 1953). Mr. Simmons quoted from an article by A. J. Cummings in the New Chronicle, in which he said that "one good thing the debate has done is to make it reasonably certain that the newspaper industry will now establish its own voluntary Press Council and speed up the process."

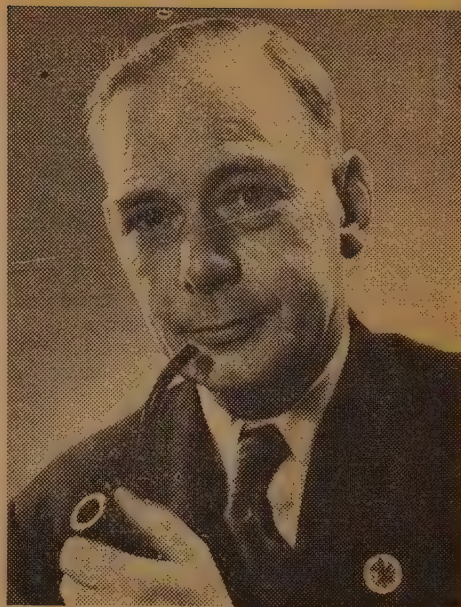
The voluntary Council will differ from those proposed by the Royal Commission on the Press (see FACT, August, 1949) and Mr. Simmons, in that it has no independent chairman and no lay members. It is to be a "closed shop" so far as the Press are concerned. The sponsors of the Private Member's Bill, however, were prepared to allow the voluntary Council a fair trial.

As Mr. Simmons stated: "We ought to give the voluntary Press Council a chance to prove its worth, efficiency and competence to do the job to which it has set its hand." But, "I give warning here and now that if it fails, some of us will again have to come forward with a measure similar to this Bill."

The Royal Commission first proposed the formation of a Press Council in June, 1949. In July of the same year, the House of Commons approved the Commission's report and endorsed its findings without a division—Tories and Liberals accepting them along with Labour members.

For three and a half years the Press have hesitated and hedged over the issue, having one abortive scheme for a Press Council that gave the journalist unions only four members out of a total of twenty-five on the Council. Nothing substantial was thought about until Jim Simmons' Bill came forward, seconded by a Liberal MP.

Whether the hastily-conceived voluntary Council will serve any useful function as envisaged by the Royal Commission is an open question. It starts its life with the



SIMMONS His Bill frightened the Press into action after three years of idle chatter. Now he will wait and see.

severe disadvantage of having no lay members—the Royal Commission suggested it should have one-fifth lay members—and restricting its inquiries to only those matters in which an offended party actually states a complaint.

Labour and the public will join Jim Simmons in waiting to see; if the Press Council fails to perform the functions the Royal Commission laid down, the Press need not be surprised when another Bill is laid before Parliament.

Beveridge warning

LORD BEVERIDGE, in a House of Lords debate last month, warned that one of the main principles of his famous report was in danger of being destroyed. Stating that "I feel that any kind of means test is a thing to be abolished as far as it can be," because "it penalises independence," Lord Beveridge pointed out that nearly two million people were now getting benefit from the National Assistance Board, which had to apply a form of means test.

He distinguished between two types of benefit that were obtainable. National Insurance is paid as a right—the insured person pays his "premiums" and is fully entitled to draw benefit whenever the need arises. National Assistance, on the other hand, is the result of a special claim and the recipient has to prove that it is really needed.

Lord Beveridge reminded the House that next year the Government is bound by law to re-examine the contributions and benefits that are paid and decide if any changes are necessary. He claimed that the Government would then have to say that either benefits must be raised to give adequate assistance, or "we abandon security against want without a means test; we drop the Beveridge report and the 1946 (Labour) policy."

TOWN HALL

HELP FOR LOCAL COUNCILS

by G. R. Mitchison, Q.C., M.P.

THE Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill had a Second Reading on March 13, and completed its Committee stage on May 7, after five days in Committee. It will come up for Report and Third Reading early this month and now stands a good chance of becoming law without much further change in it. Through a bit of luck in the ballot for Private Members' Bills, I introduced it, and it was supported by nine other Labour Members.

It came late in the season for Private Members' Bills, and as we were to have from other Private Members various controversial Bills, about Sunday Observance, Simplified Spelling, and so on, I thought the most sensible thing to do was to try and get through a number of small things which would be useful and which, if they were to get through at all, would have to be non-controversial.

I had particularly in mind the question of bus shelters, which are badly needed in many parts of the country and which at present local authorities have no power to put up or maintain. The late Dick Ewart and other Labour Members in the north-eastern region wanted something done about this, and I hoped to meet some of their requirements and, at the same time, to meet some other needs of local authorities.

The Bill accordingly gives local authorities, including Parish Councils, power to put up bus shelters and to make agreements with bus operators for the latter to pay the cost, or part of it. Consent is required from the highway authority and from others concerned, but it may not be unreasonably withheld.

There is provision for access to telegraph lines, sewers, and so on. The shelter may be on the highway or on adjacent land. The Bill does not enlarge or remove any existing powers of compulsory purchase.

All this is on the lines of a clause used in many Local Acts and of a circular letter sent to local authorities by the Ministry of Transport in October, 1950, when Labour was in power.

Tory opposition

The Bill also allows a local authority to set up a capital fund or a renewal and repairs fund, or both. These are useful accounting arrangements which have been embodied in many Local Acts. I proposed also to let them have insurance funds out of which due provision could be made against accident to local authority property, as an alternative to insurance with outside insurers or simply to not insuring at all: for there is no obligation to insure municipal property, much of it is not insured, and, if an accident happens in such a case, the loss falls on the rates for the year.

This proposal, though again in line with what had been done in many Local Acts, and with the wishes of the Local Authority Associations, was defeated in Committee by the Tories, partly, I think, because many of them did not really understand what was proposed, and partly because they seemed to be more concerned with the interests of insurance companies than with those of local authorities.

The Bill covers a number of other small points. For instance, it simplifies the collection of contributions for dustbins, it deals with some minor provisions about water and sewerage, and it repeals a tedious statutory procedure about the election of aldermen.

At present, if a house is unfit for habitation and cannot be made fit at reasonable cost, the local authority have to order its demolition, even if that means the collapse of the house next door. The Bill provides that in such a case they may make a Closing Order instead of having the house demolished.

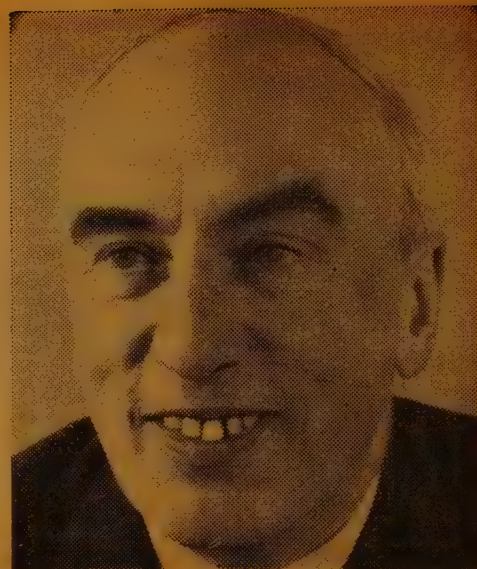
Pay for councillors

There are two other points of some importance in the Bill. At present Councillors who have shareholdings up to £200 in, say, a Co-operative Society may vote on a matter affecting the Society, if the shareholding is not more than one-hundredth of the Society's capital. The maximum shareholding in Co-operative Societies was recently raised to £500, and the Bill provides for a corresponding increase as regards the right to vote in Councils.

The second point is that hitherto the amount that a Councillor can claim for loss of pay or other financial loss due to attending Council meetings has been limited by statute to £1 for a day or 10s. up to four hours. The T.U.C. represented to the Government that these limits are now obviously too small and as a result of that representation I was able to introduce a clause into the Bill, replacing the statutory limit by a figure to be prescribed by the Minister. He already prescribes amounts in respect of other, rather similar, attendances, and the change will mean not only some increase, but also a measure of Parliamentary control over the amount prescribed.

The Bill is intended to help local authorities, particularly on points which are of interest to the Labour Party. If it was to be effective, it had to have Government support, because otherwise there would have been no money resolution and any additional expenditure by local authorities would not have ranked for grant.

A private Member on the Opposition side in such matters as this can only get



PRIVATE MEMBER G. R. Mitchison, Labour M.P. for Kettering, was lucky in the ballot for Private Members' Bills. He decided to put forward a measure to help local councils.

anything through by consent, and for that reason I had to drop, in preparing the Bill, many things which would have been controversial or would have unduly encumbered what is already a rather long Private Member's Bill.

Other points were ruled out of order during the progress of the Bill, because they were not within the money resolution.

The success we have so far had with the Bill has been due on the one hand to the skilled help I have had from Ministry officials and draftsmen in preparing it and in dealing with numerous amendments; on the other hand to the kind loyalty and good sense of my colleagues on the Committee, who have spoken with the unrivalled knowledge and experience of our Party on local government matters, or they have refrained from speaking in order to let the proceedings get on.

The local elections

IN the local elections last month, Labour registered a total net gain of 561 seats. This was made up of 659 gains and 139 losses in England and Wales, and 54 gains and 13 losses in Scotland.

In the county boroughs and non-county boroughs, one-third of the councillors retire each year. Liverpool and Brighton had "general" elections because of large-scale ward redistribution. The 28 metropolitan boroughs had their first elections since 1949, and all councillors retired.

Some 450 out of 571 urban districts had annual elections for one-third of their membership. In addition some 150 rural districts out of 475 were involved to the same extent.

In the boroughs and urban districts it is estimated that 7,300 seats were contested by 14,400 candidates, 2,600 of whom were women. Labour had a total of 6,200 candidates in the field, 3,000 of them defending their seats.

As far as the London area was con-

cerned, there were 1,357 seats at stake and a total of 2,729 candidates, of whom 1,268 were Labour and 1,195 Tories.

Exact figures from the rural areas are very hard to obtain, but it is estimated that some 1,400 seats were involved and that Labour put up some 500 candidates. All the Scottish burghs were involved to the extent of one-third of their membership.

There were no elections in the county councils, parish councils, some of the urban districts and most of the rural districts in England and Wales. In Scotland there were no elections in the county councils and district councils.

In some 30 boroughs there were no contests owing to unopposed returns. The only Labour borough in this position was Merthyr Tydfil, which has an all-Labour council. Polling in Clitheroe was postponed owing to the death of one of the Tory candidates.

Majorities won and lost

28 majorities were won and 6 were lost. These included the boroughs of Dewsbury, Grimsby, Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, Oldham, Plymouth, Dukinfield, St. Pancras, Stoke Newington.

Urban districts won were: Bicester (Oxon), Billericay (Essex), Brownhills (Staffs), Chadderton (Lancs), Chepstow (Mon), Crewkerne (Somerset), Earby (West Riding), Litherland (Lancs), Long Eaton (Derbys), Newport Pagnell (Bucks), Sittingbourne and Milton (Kent), Sowerby Bridge (West Riding), Thurrock (Essex) and Witham (Essex).

Rural districts won were: Shardlow (Derbys) and Hatfield (Herts); and the Scottish burghs of Burntisland (Fife),

Dunfermline (Fife) and Saltcoats (Ayr.) Urban districts lost were: Bollington (Cheshire), Carnforth (Lancs), Dodworth (West Riding), Failsworth (Lancs), Runcorn (Cheshire) and Wellington (Somerset).

The majorities now held are (total councils in group are in brackets after Labour-held total):

England and Wales:

County boroughs ...	45	(83)
Non-county boroughs ...	62	(309)
Metropolitan boroughs ...	19	(28)
Urban districts ...	169	(571)
Rural districts ...	25	(475)
	320	(1,466)

Scotland:

Counties of cities...	2	(4)
Large burghs ...	7	(20)
Small burghs ...	20	(172)
	349	(1,662)

Salford's overspill

SOcial survey into overspill has been carried out in Worsley (Lancs). A Labour controlled Urban District Council there gave wholehearted co-operation to easing the problem of Manchester's Siamese Twin, the overcrowded city of Salford.

Homes were provided in the urban district for people crowded from the city. Men who worked in Salford would have

seven or eight miles a day to travel. The city and the urban district have no common boundary, workers have to travel either through the Borough of Eccles or through that of Swinton and Pendlebury.

Fifteen per cent of the families allocated houses in Worsley have gone back to Salford, mainly because they could not afford to stay. Quite a number of the remainder would go back if they could get equally good housing conditions in Salford. The particular causes of dissatisfaction are the effects of higher rents and fares, as many of the men have to travel some distance to go to work, more expensive shops, the cost of removal, the shortage of local employment, poor transport, crowded and obsolete schools, and the lack of entertainment and playgrounds near their homes.

The survey states: "Nothing would do more to ensure the success of the scheme than the speeding up of the transfer of industry into the Worsley district."

The community spirit of the newcomers is strong but exclusive, the Tenants' Association having a 95 per cent membership. None of the 152 householders had gardens in Salford, but the great majority of them enjoy gardening. The estate has been laid out as far as its front gardens are concerned on the open principle, with very low fences.

The report gives a further example, if any more were needed, that the creation of new estates is a job of great complexity involving the building or providing of many facilities in addition to houses.

Labour's Net Gains and Losses, 1945-1953

Seats

County Councils	(1946) + 414
"	(1949) - 247
"	(1952) + 406
	+ 573
Borough Councils	(1945) + 1,359
"	(1946) + 200
"	(1947) - 632
"	(1948) No Elect
"	(1949) - 439
"	(1950) - 53
"	(1951) - 11
"	(1952) + 646
"	(1953) + 237
	+ 1,307
Metropolitan boroughs	(1945) + 269
"	(1949) - 263
"	(1953) + 142
	+ 148
District Councils	(1946) + 844
"	(1947) + 68
"	(1948) - 82
"	(1949) + 45
"	(1950) + 160
"	(1951) + 21
"	(1952) + 698
"	(1953) + 141
	+ 1,895
	3,923

Modernising grants

IS it true that grants can be obtained for modernising private property?

☆ ☆ ☆

Yes, this is quite true. The Housing Act, 1949, passed by the Labour Government, gives local authorities power to make grants to private owners who improve, convert or modernise their own existing property.

Readers will be aware that there is a large amount of property in the country which is structurally sound but old-fashioned. It is sometimes possible in these cases for large houses to be converted into self-contained flats, for extra bedrooms to be built, and bathrooms and lavatories provided. It is for these purposes that the grants are intended.

The grants are not intended to subsidise slum dwellings. To be eligible for a grant an owner must be able to expect at least another 30 years' life from his property and it must be in a good state of repair.

The grants are not available for work of ordinary repair and decoration, or to carry out sanitary work which would be authorised by the local authorities under the Housing or Public Health Acts.

The actual amount of grant given is one-

half the amount of the cost falling upon the owner if this is between the two figures of £150 and £800. The owner is then permitted to increase the rent he charges his tenant by some six per cent of the actual cost falling upon his own pocket.

It is important to remember that local authorities can also carry out this kind of work themselves and may acquire private property, either privately or compulsorily, for the purpose. Whether they make grants themselves to private owners or do the work on their own account, they are entitled to recoup three-quarters of the loss incurred through the payment of grants or the carrying out of work from the Exchequer.

The Exchequer contribution is, however the local authority finances the grant, the equivalent of three-quarters of the loan charges on a loan equal to the grant and repayable over 20 years at the normal rate of interest. In the case of private owners the grant is paid in the first place by the local authority, who then recover three-quarters of what they have paid out from the Exchequer in the way outlined above.

(Further details are given in the old Ministry of Health circular 90/49, which is obtainable in most council offices or from H.M. Stationery Office.)

FACT REPLIES

HOME AFFAIRS

MATCH MONOPOLY

Illuminating report

THE latest of the reports issued by the Monopolies Commission, on matches and match machinery manufacture, casts quite a lot of light on the ramifications and consequences of monopoly, both national and international.

The Commission, which was set up by the Labour Government in 1948, has investigated only six industries so far, and it has been seemingly reluctant to recommend any very drastic changes. The report on matches, for example, recommends nothing more serious than Government "supervision" of costs and prices, which may very well amount to nothing at all.

Before going out of office in 1951, Labour declared its intention of strengthening the Commission, in view of the slowness of its working and the mildness of its reports. The Conservatives also promised a strengthening of the Commission in the King's Speech in November, 1951; nothing has yet come of this pledge.

The match report shows that of the matches used in this country, 66 per cent are home-produced, and 34 per cent are imported. Of the home-produced matches, 95 per cent are made by the British Match Corporation. Of the imported matches, 85 per cent are made by the Swedish Match Company, which is the largest single stockholder in the British Match Company. This means that some 90 per cent of the matches used in this country are produced by closely linked companies.

As the Commission comments: "Competition from independent producers in the United Kingdom is insignificant."

What independent producers there are operate under severe handicaps, for they are to a large extent at the mercy of the British-Swedish group. The Commission says: "... through its control of companies dealing in certain chemicals used in the manufacture of matches ... the British Match Corporation is able to secure that its competitors are charged for those materials up to 77 per cent more than the companies of the British Match Corporation Group."

And where an independent producer has managed to put matches on the market at lower prices than those of the Corporation, the latter has used its large size to sell at below cost of production in selected markets—consumers elsewhere have footed the bill.

Between the British and Swedish companies there is an agreement whereby the British company is not allowed to exceed a quota of 55 per cent of the British-Swedish joint sales. If this quota is exceeded, the British company pays the Swedish one compensation up to a £37,000 a year maximum. This is now being paid. The British company also has to pay the Swedish one shilling a gross on sales exceeding its average for the previous three years.

The Commission declares that: "We find ... the system as a whole operates ... against the public interests as respects the supply of both matches and of match-making machinery." It further states that: "The absence of competition ... has resulted in profits and prices being higher than they would otherwise have been, and at certain times this has also been true of costs."

In addition to recommending government supervision of prices, the Commission suggests that changes in the financial relations between match manufacturers and importers in this country, and between

(Continued on Page 24.)

YOUTH

TORY SET-BACKS

Paper packs up

THERE is jubilation in the Labour League of Youth over two set-backs which their opposite numbers, the Young Conservatives, have received.

With the Spring issue of "Tory Advance," the Young Conservatives' magazine, came the news that it would be their last issue. The terse obituary which the paper carried announced that the Young Conservatives would no longer have their own paper, and that what news was of importance to the Young Tories would be carried in their senior organisation's paper "Tory Challenge."

The Young Conservatives—often denounced by ex-members as a servile and stagnant "front" for the senior Association—seem to have fallen completely from grace. Conservative claims that they were a large and powerful organisation seem to have been thrown over by the admission that they cannot now run their own paper.

A blank silence has been maintained by Conservative Central Office over the Young Tories' second set-back.

Conservative M.P. Sir Sidney Marshall warned them not to take part in Youth Parliaments with the Labour League of Youth. From all over the country branches of the League reported that Young Tories had given a host of superficial reasons why they would not take part in public debate. It seemed more and more likely that there had been some central directive which had trimmed their sails.

The restrictive attitude of the Tories is having its effect on its youth organisation. Members are leaving their movement and seeking wider freedom within the League.

League ballots

"SOCIALIST ADVANCE," Labour League of Youth paper, inaugurated a new feature last January. It threw open a ballot to League members to have their say on various subjects. Up to date this has brought some very interesting results.

"Votes at 18" gave only a slim majority in favour; German rearmament was overwhelmingly defeated and the future of conscription—the question asked was "Do you wish to abolish, shorten, or maintain?" gave this result: Abolish, 26.5 per cent; Shorten, 39.2 per cent; Maintain, 34.3 per cent. The reintroduction of corporal punishment was heavily defeated, only just over 6 per cent being in its favour.

The results of these ballots show that the post-war League takes the extra responsibilities of young people to-day seriously.



YOUTH LEADS THE WAY

Always well to the fore in political activities, the Labour League of Youth contingent is seen here taking part in the great May Day demonstration held in London's Hyde Park last month. The demonstration was the first fully united Labour-Co-operative-Trade Union one to be held in London for many years. A League of Youth speaker took his place on the platform alongside Labour leaders.

INDUSTRY

MEN AT WORK

Survey of conditions

THE great improvement in working hours is the most striking finding in a survey of the changes in working conditions over the last fifty years incorporated in the latest report of the Chief Inspector of Factories. The survey covers the period from the introduction of the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 up to 1951.

In 1901, the average hours worked, by women and children as well as men, was between 55 and 60 per week. In 1951, the average was down to 44 to 48 hours per week. By 1951, too, there was almost universal acceptance of the five-day week.

The survey comments on the fact that "tea breaks" have become a generally accepted feature of factory life. And in the last few years, one or two weeks' holiday with pay have been arranged in many industries. Shift-systems have been greatly improved, and outwork has been reduced to a minimum and set on a more satisfactory basis.

Since 1945, illegal employment has occurred only in very isolated cases, and only then in firms of no lasting repute.

Comparisons of accidents at work in 1901 and 1951 are difficult to make for the bases of reporting has become quite different. In 1901, there were 1,035 fatal accidents notified; in 1951, there were 828 fatal accidents. The survey comments that a general change-over from steam machinery with a main engine transmitting power throughout the factory, to the use of individual drive machinery has greatly reduced the number of dangers at work.

The number of factories without power-driven machinery declined every year covered by the survey. In 1901, there were 95,000 factories with power and 137,000 factories without power. In 1951, there were 212,000 factories with power and only 26,000 without power.

Most workers questioned about progress over the last fifty years agreed that it had been considerable; they stressed that the greatest progress had been made in the last twelve years.

Cost of insurance

IN the year 1951-52, the National Insurance Fund had an income of £557.4 million from all sources and an expenditure on benefits and pensions of £388.7 million. Income of the Industrial Injuries Fund was £38.4 million and expenditure £16.3 million.

The National Insurance Fund's income was made up of £108.5 million from the Exchequer, £417.1 million from Contributions, and £31.8 million from Interest. Expenditure was made up of

£275.2 million for pensions, £63.3 million for sickness benefit, £14.8 million for unemployment benefit, £24 million for widows' pensions, £8.4 million for maternity grants, £2.5 million for death grants, and £0.5 million for guardians' allowances.

Income of the Industrial Injuries Fund was made up of £6 million from the Exchequer, £30.4 million from Contributions, and £2 million from Interest. Expenditure was made up of £8.7 million for injury benefit, £7 million for disablement benefit, and £0.5 million for death benefit.

Changing jobs

AN inquiry conducted by the Social Survey Division of the Central Office of Information into the mobility of labour before the war and after the war suggests that full employment serves to promote greater mobility.

The inquiry compared changes in a sample of the working population in the periods 1945 to 1949 and 1930 to 1934. The results showed a great increase in changes from job to job and employer to employer.

In the earlier period a male working population of just under 14½ million experienced about 6½ million changes of occupation, industry, town or region, or other changes. In the post-war period, a working male population, slightly larger, experienced 11 million such changes. Of these 11 million changes, 6½ million were changes of occupation (e.g., from one trade to another in building), and 5½ million were changes of industry (e.g., from building to mining).

The rate of occupational change was 9 per cent in 1950, the same as in 1949, and it is thought that this may now be the normal rate.

Changes have to a large extent been self-compensating. That is, in most industries and occupations losses and gains have practically balanced each other out. Almost a half of all changes were on the same level of work; people moved from one unskilled job to another, or from one semi-skilled job to another, and so on.

Changes over wide areas of the country were limited. Most changes occurred inside regions, being re-

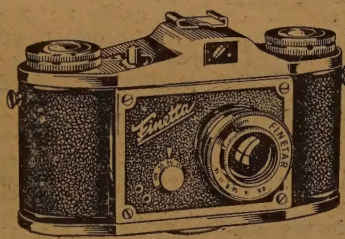
stricted to, at the most, a move between neighbouring towns. Fifty per cent of the people involved had worked in one town only throughout their working lives. Twenty-five per cent had worked in two towns only. Only one-fifth had worked in more than one region.

The inquiry shows that the frequency of change is made up in the main by a large number of people making a few changes. Over all the people questioned, the average number of changes made over their working lives was three. Only one-third had had four or more occupations.

The fact that the inquiry shows that there is a tendency towards greater mobility under full employment refutes one of the old Tory arguments that Labour's policies would lead to a stagnation of industry because workers would be unwilling to switch jobs when security was near perfect.

Greater mobility is exactly what industry desperately needs to-day, and this serves to show that full employment is in fact the very best possible policy economically as well as morally. The main limiting factor on mobility at the moment is the housing shortage; given more houses, mobility may well increase still further.

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BOOKS

LABOUR—A RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

An economist reviews the situation

"Pursuit of Progress," Roy Jenkins (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.).

THERE are broadly, within the Labour Movement, two schools of thought on the 1945-51 period: there are those—and they are the majority—who look on the post-war conditions of high demand and full employment as the new "normalcy," and there are those who fear that the post-war achievement is in large measure temporary and chronically insecure.

Mr. Roy Jenkins, one of the authors of the New Fabian Essays and M.P. for Stechford, belongs to the majority. His new book surveys the Party's past achievements and attempts to "chart a course for the future" against the background of a society in which full employment has come to stay. This assumption which is implicit rather than explicit has a powerful influence on the book.

If accepted, it follows that there is no need for a radical economic or industrial policy—we can be content to solve such long-term problems as a wages policy and to strengthen the machinery of planning. Further, the Party can now reconsider the fundamental political questions which were being discussed before the Korean war drove them out of mind: what kind of society do we want and what steps must be taken to reach it?

Mr. Jenkins' answers to the first question are unexceptionable: more equality, more democratic participation, a wide diffusion of power. He answers the second with a series of proposals, including heavier taxes on capital, a rational wages policy, more planning and a reshaped educational system.

But his most dramatic—and in the context of his thought most surprising—suggestion is for a substantial widening of the public sector. Mr. Jenkins' analysis and critique of the Party's arguments for nationalisation over the last twenty years is one of the most brilliant and valuable passages in the book. Of course "efficiency" is not the only criterion for nationalisation. To say that it is, while simultaneously pressing forward a policy for making private enterprise more efficient is tantamount to calling a permanent halt to public ownership.

But while Mr. Jenkins quite rightly suggests that "the primary purpose of public ownership is to change the shape of society," he rather surprisingly plays down its place in economic planning and plays up its role in effecting a more egalitarian society.

The underlying feeling of confidence that full employment will be maintained also affects Mr. Jenkins' treatment of the Conservatives. He sees them as a "conservative" not a "reactionary" Party. They can be relied upon to preserve not all, but the greater part, of the structure

of the Welfare State. It follows from this that the Labour Party need not worry unduly about winning votes; it can go ahead with its traditional job of urging a radical programme upon the electorate. It also follows that the "Liberal theory" of the State can be accepted. There is a sufficient degree of unity between Labour and Conservative to allow for the workings of the two-party system.

This is an attractive theory and one that may well prove to be correct. But I think that Mr. Jenkins has overstated the degree of demoralisation in the Conservative Party and among its friends. True, there was little resistance from the House of Lords during 1945-51; but there was plenty of fight in Steel House and elsewhere in private industry. But the main point is this: the Conservative Party will not be a reactionary Party and social tensions will therefore not become acute as long as full employment exists. But for how long can full employment be maintained in an increasingly difficult economic situation under a Conservative Government?

There is much to agree and to disagree with in "Pursuit of Progress." That this article has taken a rather critical view does not alter the fact that Mr. Jenkins has made an outstanding contribution to the discussion of our present problems. No one who is seriously interested in politics can afford not to read it.

PETER SHORE.

Foreign policy

"SOCIALIST UNION," the group which produced "Socialism: a new statement of principles," has followed it up by a further booklet on "Socialism and Foreign Policy." This is a valuable attempt to relate the previous statement of principles to the practical problems of foreign policy. It does not try to state a Socialist foreign policy for the existing international situation: if it did, it would very soon be out of date because the situation alters so rapidly. What it does is to illustrate by examples taken from the past and from the current situation what the group considers to be a specifically Socialist approach to international problems.

In doing so, it rightly cuts across the traditional boundaries of "foreign policy" to include the problem of imperialism. There seems no reason why imperialist expansion over land should be kept in a different compartment from overseas imperialism. In this connection, it administers a well-merited reproof: "Socialists have never defended the infringement of the rights of dependent peoples when the culprits were the Western colonial Powers. . . . But when the same injustice is perpe-

trated by Communists the apologists escape into every sort of rationalisation. The reason why any Socialist should burden his conscience, or his party, with tortuous alibis for obvious oppression, not only of former ruling classes, but of his own working-class comrades frankly escapes us."

There are many other shrewd observations in this booklet which provides a good three-shilling's worth of food for thought. As a serious essay in realistic thinking about the problems of Socialist foreign policy it deserves wide circulation.

Public Ownership

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN have issued at six shillings a study entitled *Efficiency in the Nationalised Industries*.

This book, published by the Institute of Public Administration, consists of four papers by Sir Hubert Houldsworth, Henry Jones, Lord Latham and Lord Citrine, with a foreword by Herbert Morrison. The authors are the chairmen of the National Coal Board, the British Electricity Authority and the London Transport Executive and the Deputy Chairman of the Gas Council. With such eminent contributors and with Herbert Morrison's foreword, this is indeed an authoritative review of Labour's nationalisation programme and its achievements.

Its brief 65 pages survey a wide field and are full of very valuable information. Two vital facts emerge: first, that nationalised industry has an imposing story of increasing efficiency to tell, and second, that these improvements are due, not merely to the technical achievements of the industry, but arise just as much from the improvement which nationalisation has brought about both in worker-management relations and also in relations with consumers.

The fact that these essays are written by four different men about four different industries means that their treatment, coverage and emphasis varies very widely indeed. The papers on the London Transport Executive and the Gas Council are the most solid, but perhaps inevitably the least stimulating.

It is different with electricity. Here we see the broad view, the bold view and a willingness to plan ambitiously over the years ahead. It is only through nationalisation that effective long-range planning has become possible, and clearly Lord Citrine means to grasp this opportunity.

There can be no doubt that Labour's greatest act of nationalisation was the nationalisation of coal mining. Sir Hubert's account is inspiring, especially the stress which he lays throughout (and more than the other authors) on first class labour relations. When all is said and done it is not machines and techniques that determine the pace of production but the skill, knowledge and spirit of the men who use them.

During the last five years the N.C.B. has watched carefully over the human factor and the success of its policy may be judged by the steadily rising curve of output in what was once a derelict industry.

STATISTICS

	Year 1949	Year 1950	Year 1951	Year 1952	March 1950	March 1951	March 1952	March 1953
Production—U.K.								
Index of Industrial Production, Average 1948 = 100 (1938 = 86)	106	114	117	114	116	116	123	120-121 (1)
Coal—G.B.								
Total Output, weekly averages in thousand tons (1938 = 4353)...	4,126	4,149	4,274	4,331	4,387	4,243	4,639	4,522
Average Output, tons per man- shift (1938 = 1.14)	1.16	1.19	1.21	1.19	1.20	1.21	1.22	1.22
Stocks at end of period in thous- and tons	17,328	14,104	17,549	20,938	11,834	10,923	14,888	16,228
Steel								
Crude steel (ingots and castings), weekly averages in thousand tons (1938 = 200)	299	313	301	310	330	318	320	351
Producers' stocks at end of period, thousand tons	...	995	585	739	...	873 (Feb.)	520 (Feb.)	768 (Feb.)
Production U.S.A.								
Index of Industrial Production F.R.B. adjusted (1935-39 = 100)	176	200	220	219	187	222	221	241
U.K. Trade (Monthly averages or months in £ million)								
Imports	189.6	217.4	325.3	290.1	223.1	304.3	333.3	285.7
Exports (including re-exports)...	153.7	188.0	225.6	227.1	191.2	207.6	267.9	223.8
Imports from dollar area	41.8	40.0	64.5	60.1	30.4 (Feb.)	35.1 (Feb.)	60.8 (Feb.)	41.8 (Feb.)
Total exports to dollar area	14.0	23.5	27.2	28.3	17.1 (Feb.)	21.1 (Feb.)	22.3 (Feb.)	28.5 (Feb.)
Terms of trade (2) (1951 = 100)	...	88	100	93	85	101	97	87
Gold and dollar reserves of ster- ling area (end of period) £ million	603	1,178	834	659	709	1,342	607	774
Gross National Savings (at end of period) £ million ...	6,098	6,091	6,092	6,011	6,123.6 (Feb.)	6,123.6 (Feb.)	6,101.7 (Feb.)	6,026.6 (Feb.)
Employment								
Registered unemployed in G.B. in thousands (1938 = 1,700) ...	308.0	314.2	252.9	414.2	347.3	274.9	433.0	397.0
No. of unemployed as a per- centage of total of employees (G.B.)	1.6	1.4	1.2	2.0	1.7	1.3	2.1	1.9
Working days lost through indus- trial disputes in U.K. in '000's	1,807	1,389	1,694	1,792	127	145	288	251
Housing								
Permanent houses completed in G.B. (3) thousands	197.63	198.17	194.83	239.92	19.40	16.61	21.58	28.73
Wages and Prices								
Interim index of retail prices (4): June, 1947 = 100	111	114	125	136	113	119	133	140
Retail sales by large retailers in G.B. (weekly average 1950 = 100)	...	100	109	117	88 (Feb.)	103 (Feb.)	105 (Feb.)	112 (Feb.)
Weekly wage rates, all workers (June, 1947 = 100; September, 1939 = 60)	109	111	120	130	110	117	128	135

(1) Provisional. (Corrected figures: Jan., 1953 = 117; Feb. (prov.) = 120).

(2) Ratio of import prices to export prices; a rise indicates an adverse movement.

(3) Including war destroyed houses rebuilt.

(4) Based on food, drink, tobacco, rent, clothing, household goods, etc.

Sources: Central Statistical Office, *Monthly Digest of Statistics* and *Economist Records and Statistics*.

Home affairs

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them and overseas firms, should be notified to the Board of Trade. Three members of the Commission, Professor G. C. Allen, Mr. C. N. Gallie (of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association), and Mrs. Joan Robinson, put in an addendum to the report suggesting that the possibility of a government purchasing agency for the industry should be examined more fully, and also that the quota arrangement between the British and Swedish companies should be ended.

Off the farm

SOME idea of the control over farmers and farm landlords held by the Minister of Agriculture, as a result of the Agriculture Act of 1947, is gained from a review of dispossession figures published last month in the Manchester Guardian.

These figures show that by the end of February this year the Minister had made 3,653 supervision orders for bad husbandry since the Act came into force in 1947. Of this total, 1,619 (44 per cent) were revoked because the farmers made better progress; 212 (6 per cent) lapsed because the farmer died or left his farm; 1,530 (42 per cent) were still in force in February. The remaining 292 (8 per cent) were actually carried into effect.

Bad estate management cases were fewer. Six hundred and thirty-nine orders were issued, 170 of these were revoked, 35 lapsed, and ten were carried into effect.

There were 207 appeals to a tribunal against dispossession for bad husbandry, 56 of which were withdrawn. Of the remainder, 26 were successful and 102 failed. Against dispossession orders for bad estate management there were only three appeals, and two of these were withdrawn before being dealt with.

Commenting on the farmers' views of the right of the Minister to dispossess, the Manchester Guardian review says: "In general, those in the industry would rather have the security that the (1947) Act gives them than the right to farm inefficiently with impunity."

Building speed

WAYS of increasing speed and efficiency in the construction of house interiors are recommended in the report presented by a Government committee under the chairmanship of Sir Donald Bailey (inventor of the Bailey Bridge). They summarise their conclusions as follows:

- (1) "We believe that house building to a small number of interior plans will make the greatest single immediate contribution to speed, efficiency and lower costs.

- (2) "British Standard products ought to be more widely used in house building.
- (3) "British Standards should be examined with a view to a further co-ordination of dimensions.
- (4) "It is urgently necessary to press on with the British Standards Institution's study of modular co-ordination. Meanwhile, we suggest, house plans should be drawn to a preferred dimension.
- (5) "There are many new and alternative materials which, if properly used can save substantial time and labour—and sometimes cost also.
- (6) "Good organisation from start to finish is essential and in the long run can make the greatest contribution to speed and efficiency . . ."

The Committee say that it may be news to many people that if three months' are required to build the exterior of the typical council house, it may take a further six months to complete the interior although it requires only about a third of the man-hours of the whole house. The number of manhours taken for the completion of the whole house can vary from 1,565 to 4,645. This, says the Committee, is accounted for mainly by different degrees of efficiency in organisation.

They say that they consider design to be "the most important immediate factor" in speeding up work on interiors and that simplification—"the limitation of the variety of designs of house interiors"—is urgently necessary.

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